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ABSTRACT

The introductory section of this study of Spanish dialects in the United States, commissioned by the ERIC Clearinghouse for Linguistics, presents the plan and the ethnic distribution of Spanish speakers in the U.S.. (The 1960 census shows the preponderance of population contribution to be from Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Spain.) A description of standard Spanish is followed by descriptions of the major varieties of Spanish in the U.S.: (1) Mexican (and Texan, New Mexican and Southern Coloradan, Arizonan, Californian, and other U.S. urban area subvarieties); (2) Puerto Rican; (3) Cuban; and (4) Peninsular. The third section of this study presents a contrastive analysis of intonation in terms of pitch, terminal junctures, stress, and rhythm. The final section, on vocabulary, deals briefly with certain lexical items and innovations brought about by current bilingualism. A bibliography concludes the study. (AMM)

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DOMINANT SPANISH DIALECTS SPOKEN IN THE UNITED STATES

by DANIEL N. CARDENAS

Foreword

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A. Hood Roberts, Director
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DOMINANT SPANISH DIALECTS SPOKEN IN THE UNITED STATES

by

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Introduction

It is indeed a challenge to attempt a description of the dominant Spanish dialects in the United States. "A daring venture" would better describe this effort in view of the paucity of printed information available. Nevertheless, with the idea of providing some insight into sources of language interference, the present essay attempts to describe the principal differences between four major Spanish dialects in the United States: Mexican Spanish, Puerto Rican Spanish, Cuban Spanish, and Peninsular Spanish.

Some facts and examples are taken from the works included in the BIBLIOGRAPHY and the author's own research and experience. Any misinterpretation of facts is the sole responsibility of the author.

Thanks are extended to Dr. Lena L. Lucietto for reading the first draft and for offering valuable suggestions. Thanks also go to my wife, Florence, who read and corrected the final copy, but above all for her continued patience and understanding.

0.0. Plan and Ethnic Distribution

The 1960 census shows the population contribution to the United States from each country in this order: Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Spain. There are immigrants from other countries such as Peru, Colombia, Ecuador, etc., but the number is small in comparison and need not concern us here.

This information, plus the migrating trends of these groups of people, will help us determine the varieties of Spanish expected in given areas. We must speak of varieties of Spanish and not necessarily of non-standard Spanish, because what might be non-standard to one group, may be standard to another. True, there are stylistic differences within the speech of each group which we will discuss later, but in principle the different varieties of Spanish can fit within broad or general rules.

The analysis of those people with Spanish surnames in the 1960 census indicated that almost three-quarters of them (3,466,999) reside in the Southwest, out of a total of 5,189,839. According to Marden and Meyer (3rd ed. 1968) there are 855,704 Puerto Ricans in the United States (mainland); and as of 1959, 227,000 Cubans in the United States on temporary status and 56,526 here as immigrants. The 1960 census also shows 126,163 persons either born in Spain or the children of Spanish immigrants.

It behooves us to know the migration patterns of the respective linguistic groups in order to determine the varieties of Spanish and their order of dominance.[1] The 1960 census gives us the following table (p. 257):

---

[1] The fact that the 1960 census figures are soon to be replaced by the 1970 census does not invalidate the figures shown here for our purpose. At most, an increase or decrease in population of any one of these dialectal groups would merely change the dominant dialect in a given area and would not alter the dialectal descriptions discussed here-

	Boston	Chicago	Cleveland	Detroit	Los Angeles-Long Beach	New York	Philadelphia	San Francisco-Oakland
Cuba	385	1736	212	400	2194	30018	788	416
Mexico	248	23450	447	3565	117004	3909	557	18977
Spain	325	485	178	782	2630	12193	591	4005

Two important centers of Cuban refugees left out of the census are Miami and New Orleans. One can also notice the exclusion of Puerto Ricans from this census.

According to the statistical information at hand, though surely incomplete, we could posit the following group concentrations in diminishing order:

U.S. Southwest:	1 Mexico	2 Spain	3 Cuba	4 Puerto Rico
URBAN				
New York-New Jersey:	Puerto Rico	Cuba	Spain	Mexico
Philadelphia:	Puerto Rico	Cuba	Spain	Mexico
Detroit:	Mexico	Spain	Cuba	Puerto Rico
Cleveland:	Mexico	Puerto Rico	Cuba	Spain
Chicago-Gary:	Mexico	Puerto Rico	Cuba	Spain
Boston:	Cuba	Puerto Rico	Spain	Mexico
Miami:	Cuba	Puerto Rico	Spain	Mexico
New Orleans:	Cuba	Puerto Rico	Mexico	Spain

---

with. It is already known, for example, that in Detroit (Tsuzaki, 1963, p.26) the Mexican population had grown to 30,000 in 1961, whereas the 1960 census only recorded 3565. Accordingly, Mexican Spanish would still be the dominant dialect in Detroit, and for the description of it one would consult section 2.1.5.

This would be an index of the varieties of Spanish dominant in each area.

A description of each one of these varieties of Spanish will be given, concentrating principally on the peculiarities of each, using an academic Spanish as a point of reference.

To speak of the Spanish language in the United States one has to draw on linguistic research done in the respective Spanish speaking countries from which the Spanish speaking population of the United States came. Such retrieval of linguistic data is necessary due to the paucity of linguistic studies of Spanish in the United States. Even at that, the linguistic studies of Spanish outside the United States are not so numerous either. Fortunately some key works have been published on the most representative countries.

1.0. Description of Standard Spanish

It is an established fact that General Spanish has five phonemic vowels /a e i o u/:

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low		a	

/i/ has two non-syllabic allophones: [j] in bien, siete, etc. and [i̯] in seis, vaina, etc.

/u/ has two non-syllabic allophones: [w] in bueno, cuenta, etc. and [u̯] in causa, Europa, etc.

The most common vocalic clusters found are /ai ei oi ui iu ue ua uo au eu ou ia ie io iai iei uai uei ioi/, which are usually called diphthongs and triphthongs. There are other vocalic clusters which traditionally are declared to belong to different syllables. However, popular speech can reduce many of them to diphthongs, for example, lealtad: /le-al-tád/ > /leal-tád/ > /lial-tád/. Theoretically Spanish vocalic clusters have many more possibilities and one can even combine all five vowel phonemes within one syllable, example, "Llegó sin portafo/lioaeu/ropa." /lioaeu/ is considered as one syllable.

1.1. There are seventeen to nineteen phonemic consonants /p t k b d g f θ x s ĉ y m n ñ l ʎ r r̃/, assuming that the Spanish American varieties lack the so-called Castilian phonemes /θʎ/; however, the /ʎ/ is not infrequently found.

Phonemes	Allophones	Articulation and Environment
/p/	[p]	unaspirated bilabial voiceless stop: padre, mapa, representa, salpica.
/t/	[t]	unaspirated dental voiceless stop: todo, tanto, entre, alto.
/k/	[k]	unaspirated velar voiceless stop: cantar, sacar, tanque, secreto, alcanza.
/b/	[b]	bilabial voiced stop; initially and after nasal: van, bamba, invierno.
	[β]	bilabial voiced fricative; elsewhere: haba, tuve, sobre, árbol.
/d/	[d]	dental voiced stop; initially and after /n/ or /l/: donde, aldea.
	[ð]	dental or interdental voiced fricative; elsewhere: todo, padre, pardo, verdad.
/g/	[g]	velar voiced stop; initially and after nasal: ganas, sangre, renglón.
	[ɣ]	velar voiced fricative; elsewhere: haga, tigre, regla.
/ĉ/	[ĉ]	prepalatal voiceless affricate: chica, muchacha, concha, marcha, colcha.
/f/	[f]	labiodental voiceless fricative: fama, enfermo, refrán, flan.
/θ/	[θ]	interdental voiceless fricative: cinco, zona, onza, hacer, luz.

Phonemes	Allophones	Articulation and Environment
/s/	[s̪]	dental voiceless fricative; before /t/: pasta, este.
	[z̪]	dental voiced fricative; before /d/: desde.
	[z]	alveolar, predorsal or dentoalveolar voiced fricative; before voiced consonant: mismo, esbelto, rasgo.
	[s]	alveolar, predorsal or dentoalveolar voiceless fricative; elsewhere: soy, pasar, absoluto, más, máximo.
/x/	[x]	velar voiceless fricative: jardín, rojo, reloj.
/y/	[ŷ]	prepalatal voiced affricate; after /n/, /s/ or /l/ and initial position: conyugal, al yerno, deshierbar, hielo.
/m/	[m̪]	labiodental voiced nasal; before /f/: enfado, infantería.
	[m]	bilabial voiced nasal; elsewhere: madre, cama, alma, arma, también.
/n/	[n̪]	interdental voiced nasal; before /θ/: encía, onza.
	[n̪]	dental voiced nasal; before /d/ and /t/: donde, antes.
	[ŋ]	velar voiced nasal; before velar consonant: tanque, tango, sanja.
	[n]	alveolar voiced nasal; elsewhere: nada, manejar, honra, dan.

Phonemes	Allophones	Articulation and Environment
/ñ/	[ñ]	prepalatal voiced nasal: año, mancha, con llevar.
/l/	[l̪]	interdental voiced lateral; before /θ/: alzar.
	[l̪̣]	dental voiced lateral; before /d/ and /t/: saldo, alto.
	[l]	alveolar voiced lateral; elsewhere: tal, lateral, pala, planta.
/λ/	[λ]	prepalatal voiced lateral: llegar, hallar, colcha.
/r/	[r]	alveolar voiced flap; everywhere except initially: para, harpa, cabra, mar.
/r̄/	[r̄]	alveolar voiced trill: rábano, honra, parra, alrededor, Israel.

Some phonological observations worthy of notice common to all varieties of Spanish are:

1) absence of aspiration after any voiceless stop regardless of its position, i.e. /p t k/ are never accompanied by aspiration

2) the most frequent phonetic reality of the voiced stops /b d g/ is the allophonic fricative variants [β̞ ð̞ ɣ̞]. The stops occur only in utterance-initial position and after a nasal. The /d/ stop also occurs after an /l/

3) the stops /t d/ are dental and not alveolar, and when the /d/ becomes fricative [ð̞], it tends to become interdental

4) the /l/ is hardly ever velar

5) if there is any partial assimilation, the first consonant is affected by the following consonant and not the other way around.

1.1.1. The Spanish consonant cluster combinations are not as rich as in English, and their position in the word is also limited. In initial position, one can find only two-consonant clusters in which a liquid or a flap is the second segment: /pl bl kl gl fl pr br tr dr kr gr fr/. Due to the nature of the Spanish language itself, most words end in vowels and the only consonants that can appear in word final position are /d n l r s θ/. This is related to the type of syllable most frequently found in Spanish in contrast with English. In any case, based on these facts, it can be posited that in word final position there are no consonant clusters possible. (Two exceptions, both of borrowed words, are vals and golf).

In medial position one finds a greater variety of consonant clusters; however, one must consider that these combinations are only combinations of the possibilities for syllable-final and initial position. In Spanish /s/ plus consonant can never begin a syllable. Therefore, including the initial position two-consonant clusters mentioned above, there are 131 two-consonant clusters: /pt pθ ps pn pl pr bt bd bg bf bθ bs by bx bĉ bm bn bl br tp tb tθ tm tn tl tλ tr db dk dg dy dx dm dn dl dr kb kt kd kf kθ ks km kn kl kλ kr gb gd gs gm gn gl gr ft fn fl fr sp sb st sd sk sg sf sθ sy sx sĉ sm sn sñ sl sr θp θb θt θd θk θg θm θn θl θr mp mb mf mθ mn mm nt nd nk ng nθ ns ny nx nĉ nn nl nλ nr lp lb lt ld lk lg lf lθ ls lx lĉ lm ln lr rp rb rt rd rk rg rf rθ rs ry rx rm rn rl/.

There are seventy possible three-consonant clusters in medial position and in a goodly number the last two consonants correspond to the 12 initial position clusters cited above. In other combinations, the phoneme /s/ is the second element of the cluster:

/ptr bpr bkl bst bsk bsθ kbl ktr ksp ksb kst ksk ksf ksθ ksm skl θtl θkl spl spr sbl sbr stf str sdr skl skr sgl sgr sfl sfr mpl mpr mbl mbr ntl ntr ndr nkt nkm nkl nkr ngl ngr mfl mfr nsp nsb nst nsk nsg nsf nsθ nsm nsl lpl lbr ltr ldr lkl lkr lgr lθm lst rpr rtr rkl rkr rfl rsp/.

There are only eight clusters of four constants possible: /bstr bskr nstr nskr nsgr nsfl nsfr rskr/. We notice that in all cases /s/ is a medial consonant before the so-called initial position clusters.

It must be understood that all these clusters are theoretic (orthographic) realities which undergo many phonological changes in the spoken language. These changes will be further explored when discussing the different varieties of Spanish.

1.1.2. The intonation patterns most frequently used are:

/211↓/ declarative statement.

/231↓/ emphatic declarative statement or contrast.

/233↑/ question without an interrogative word.

/311↓/ ~ /311↑/ question with an interrogative word.

/231|/ relative question which asks confirmation.

By intonation we understand not only the linear phonetic production of consonants and vowels within an utterance, but also the pitch, terminal juncture, stress, and rhythm. For our purpose, Spanish has three levels of pitch designated numerically /1 2 3/ for description. It has three terminal junctures designated /↓/ terminal fall, /↑/ terminal rise, and /|/ or /→/ for suspension. It has one primary stress /ˊ/ in each breath group which falls on the last stressed syllable unless a level /3/ appears in the utterance, in which case the primary stress coincides with level /3/. All other usually stressed syllables are reduced to secondary stress /ˋ/. It is natural to perceive a slight rise of pitch level with stressed syllables and a lowering of pitch with unstressed syllables. The utterances have a rhythmic stress conjoined with syllabic stress. The latter is the more apparent, particularly in contrast with English rhythmic stress.

For the sake of stress or emphasis, some languages, English among them, place a strong stress and higher pitch over the element or word to be emphasized. In Spanish this is possible only with words or elements that regularly carry a stress (content words for example), but normally unstressed words must seek a syntactic solution to convey the idea of emphasis. For example, if one wishes to emphasize the possessive pronouns (my, his, hers, etc.) there are two possible solutions in English:

This is my book. { This is MY book. / This book is MINE.

Spanish allows only one solution:

Este es mi libro. -- Este libro es MÍO.

By the same token, the strongest stress is normally toward the end of the utterance, the phrase, the compound word, the word. This frequently helps determine the position of adjectives, since the strongest stress determines which element is of most concern. For example, La hermòsa muchácha, and El sàbio maéstro, imply that the qualities hermosa and sabio are inherent or expected qualities of the persons in question, whereas La muchàcha hermósa, and El maèstro sábio, puts full weight on the adjectives, in that these qualities distinguish these persons from all others that are neither hermosa or sabio. There are, however, some loop holes in that some adjectives, such as those of national origin, always follow the noun, and a few change their meaning by change in position. (Example. El gràn hómbre vs. El hòmbre gránde -- The great man vs. The large man.)

1.2. There is no need to summarize the morphological structure of Spanish since there is great consistency among all the varieties known. To the uninitiated person, however, especially if his background is English, a few general statements can be most useful.

1. Spanish has gender and number agreement between a substantive or noun and all its possible modifiers:

{-a} = feminine,

{-o} = masculine.

"La hermosa muchacha americana....."

There are, however, some adjectives (as well as nouns) the endings of which do not give a clue to gender.

"Un gran hombre muy especial....."

"Una gran mujer muy especial....."

2. Agreement in gender and number is also extended to possesive adjectives or pronouns. The possesive adjective or pronoun agrees in person only, with the possessor; the unstressed mi, tu, su agree in number only, with the possessed; but unstressed nuestro, vuestro and all the stressed possessive adjectives or pronouns agree both in number and gender with the possessed:

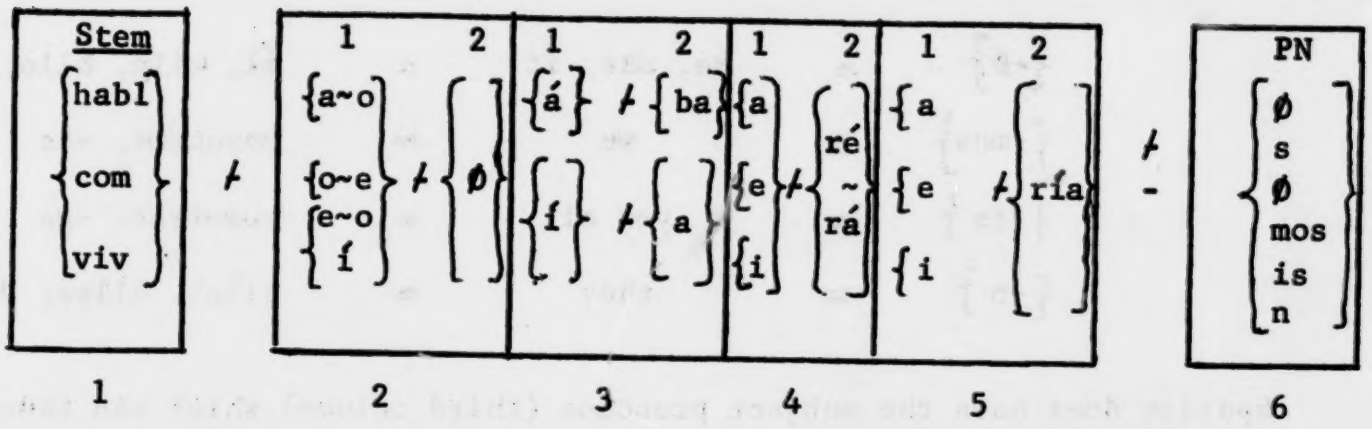
my book = mi libro - libro my books = mis libros - libros	mine	el mío los míos
my house = mi casa - casa my houses = mis casas - casas	mine	la mía las mías
our book = nuestro libro our books = nuestros libros	ours	el nuestro los nuestros
our house = nuestra casa our houses = nuestras casas	ours	la nuestra las nuestras

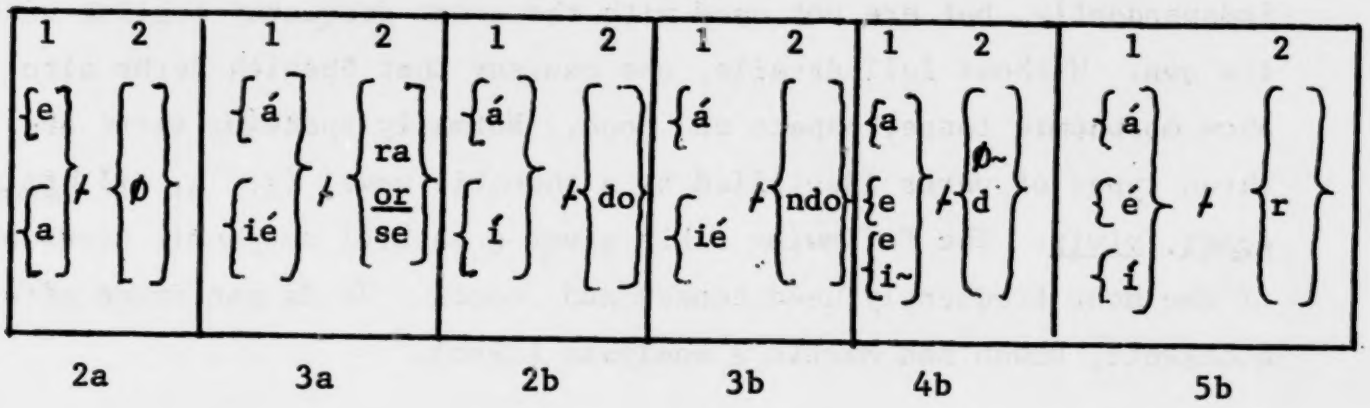
The Spanish verb system still retains a great deal of the Latin synthetic structure; consequently the verb endings have a pronominal function. Each verb has six persons, i.e. two sets of three persons each, one singular and another plural.

1		2		3
{-ø}	=	I	=	yo
{-s}	=	you (sing.)	=	tú

{-Ø}	=	he, she, it	=	él, ella, ello, Ud.
{-mos}	=	we	=	nosotros, -as
{-is}	=	you all	=	vosotros, -as
{-n}	=	they	=	ellos, ellas, Uds.

Spanish does have the subject pronouns (third column) which can function independently, but are not used with the great frequency English uses its own. Without full details, one can say that Spanish verbs also show morphemic tense, aspect and mood. Normally speaking there are three types of verbs identified by a thematic vowel (a, e, i) hablar, comer, vivir. The following table gives a partial morphemic breakdown of the most frequently used tenses and moods. It is patterned after Stockwell, Bowen and Martin's analysis (1965).





1 ⊬ 2 ⊬ 6 = present indicative

1 ⊬ 3 ⊬ 6 = imperfect indicative

1 ⊬ 4 ⊬ 6 = future indicative

1 ⊬ 5 ⊬ 6 = conditional indicative

1 ⊬ 2a ⊬ 6 = present subjunctive

1 ⊬ 3a ⊬ 6 = past subjunctive

1 ⊬ 2b = past participle

1 ⊬ 3b = present participle

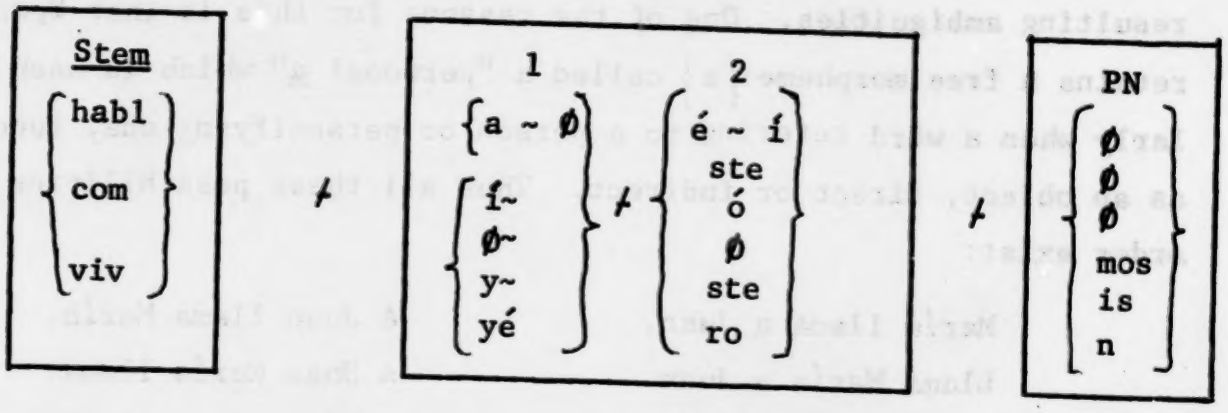
1 ⊬ 4b = imperative

1 ⊬ 5b = infinitive[2]

---

[2] Stem is the base morpheme. Number 1 superimposed within the rectangles corresponds to the thematic vowel morpheme; number 2 to the tense and aspect morpheme. PN is the person and number morpheme.

A most common tense, the preterite, is omitted from the table, as are the perfect or compound tenses. The preterite is most irregular, analogically speaking.



The perfect tenses are formed with any tense of the auxiliary haber followed immediately by the past participle of the verb whose morphemic ending would be {-ádo} ~{ído} if regular. Within normal or standard Spanish verb usage, one must notice an obvious dichotomy. Those who learn Spanish through books or who are of recent immigration from Spain (Castilians), use the full six persons in discourse and the corresponding verb forms. All other Spanish speaking peoples do not use the 2nd person plural or its corresponding verb form. It corresponds roughly speaking to "y'all" of the Southern United States.

The question as to how the "you plural" is stated is simple. Historically speaking a polite form comparable to "Your Honor (the judge) wishes to leave?", vuestra merced evolved into usted and always took the 3rd person form of the verb. Thus to Spanish-speaking persons (tú) hablas (you speak) denotes familiarity; (usted) habla (you speak-singular) is polite; (ustedes) hablan (you speak-plural) is polite; and (vosotros) habláis (y'all talk) is familiar and all-inclusive.

1.3. A brief statement on syntax or word order is appropriate. We have already spoken about word order for the sake of stress or emphasis, as well as the position of adjectives. On general terms one could say that

the most frequent is Subject-Verb-Complements (Objects). In dialogue, however, the order may seem to be Verb-Complements, because the verb already includes the subject pronoun as stated above. There is really greater flexibility of word order in Spanish than in English without resulting ambiguities. One of the reasons for this is that Spanish retains a free morpheme {a} called a "personal a" which is used regularly when a word refering to a person or personifying one, functions as an object, direct or indirect. Thus all these possibilities of word order exist:

María llama a Juan.	A Juan llama María.
Llama María a Juan.	A Juan María llama.
Llama a Juan María.	María a Juan llama.

2.0. Four Major Varieties of Spanish

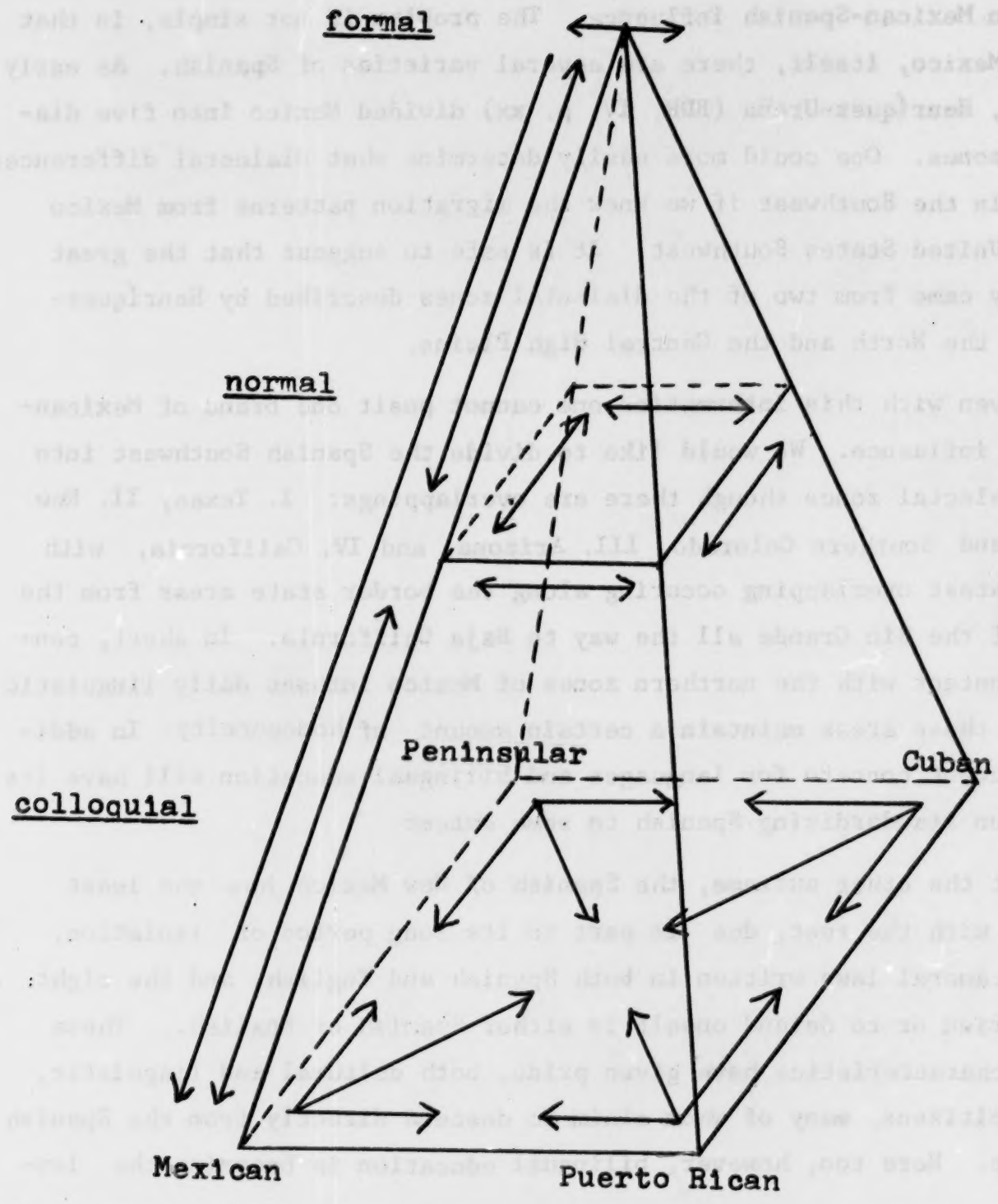
When we speak of varieties of Spanish we will refer to them by the four major concentrations in the United States cited above: Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Peninsular. Within each variety of Spanish there are several styles into which each group shifts, guided by the situation of discourse. We will borrow a scale of three styles (formal, normal, and colloquial) somewhat similar to those already posited by Fishman (p. 650) careful, neutral, and colloquial. It is possible that only two styles may be found in certain individuals and some may possess only one style, which may be the case for some bilinguals. We could posit that individuals extensively schooled in Spanish speak with three styles; formal, normal, and colloquial; those with less schooling in Spanish, but who keep Spanish actively alive, speak with two styles, colloquial and formal-normal merged into one; those with the least or no schooling in Spanish may make an effort to speak in more than one style, but it may be reduced to normal-colloquial, mostly colloquial.

It must be stated, nevertheless, that these four varieties are mutually understandable. True, there are degrees of comprehensibility, and one could say that those possessing three styles of speech are closer together linguistically speaking. In spite of a few dialectal differences, they have no difficulty communicating with one another or understanding those on the lower rungs. Those possessing only two styles of speech are not as close to each other as those possessing three styles, but in spite of greater dialectal differences can communicate with those on the lower and upper rungs. Those possessing a two-in-one or single style of speech are further apart although with difficulty they can communicate and understand each other as well as those with two styles; but they find it difficult to understand those possessing three styles when the discourse is on the formal plane. In a sense, there is greater comprehension vertically (within one variety), than horizontally, with decreasing comprehension down the horizontal scale. Many factors enter into this and it is not a phonological

problem alone. True, the morphology is subject to phonological simplifications, but the content of discourse and the vocabulary magnify the communication gap. (See diagram on next page.)

Shortly we will attempt to describe the differences among the three styles within each variety, but for the moment, an oversimplification of these differences might be represented by a few examples:

formal	[le-aḷ-tá]	[uṣ-tè-ƀá]	[tù-ƀás]
normal	[leaḷ-tá]	[uṣ-tè-ƀa]	[tù-ƀás]
	[leaḷ-tá]	[u^{s}-tè-ƀá]	[tù-ƀá^{s}]
colloquial	[ljaḷ-tá]	[ṣtè-ƀá]	[tù-ƀá^{s}]
		[^{s}tè-ƀá]	[tù-ƀá^{h}]
		[^{h}tè-ƀá]	[tù-ƀá]
		[tè-ƀá]	
		[^{u}tè-ƀá]	



(Arrows indicate direction of greater comprehension.)

2.1. Mexican Spanish

Since the Spanish of speakers of Mexican extraction is the most widely spoken of these four varieties of Spanish and its largest concentration is in the Southwest, it would seem easy to describe that variety based on Mexican-Spanish influence. The problem is not simple, in that within Mexico, itself, there are several varieties of Spanish. As early as 1938, Henríquez-Ureña (BDH, IV, p. xx) divided Mexico into five dialectal zones. One could more easily determine what dialectal differences exist in the Southwest if we knew the migration patterns from Mexico to the United States Southwest. It is safe to suggest that the great majority came from two of the dialectal zones described by Henríquez-Ureña: the North and the Central High Plains.

Even with this information one cannot posit one brand of Mexican-Spanish influence. We would like to divide the Spanish Southwest into four dialectal zones though there are overlappings: I. Texas, II. New Mexico and Southern Colorado, III. Arizona, and IV. California, with the greatest overlapping occuring along the border state areas from the mouth of the Rio Grande all the way to Baja California. In short, constant contact with the northern zones of Mexico infuses daily linguistic life so these areas maintain a certain amount of homogeneity. In addition, recent concern for languages and bilingual education will have its impact on standardizing Spanish to some extent.

At the other extreme, the Spanish of New Mexico has the least overlap with the rest, due in part to its long period of isolation, its bi-cameral laws written in both Spanish and English, and the right to be tried or to defend onself in either Spanish or English. These unique characteristics have given pride, both cultural and linguistic, to its citizens, many of whom claim to descend directly from the Spanish settlers. Here too, however, bilingual education is becoming the leveler.

2.1.1. Texan Spanish

In general terms, the Spanish of Texas, a state which has been

overwhelmed by Mexican migration, would be represented by the phonological and morphological description given for an academic standard. The principal differences which are found in all styles of this Spanish are: the absence of two phonemes /θλ / which have merged with /s y/ respectively; the complete absence of the second person plural pronoun (vosotros) and the corresponding verb form (habláis) in all tenses. This is normally replaced by ustedes plus the corresponding verb forms whether it be polite discourse or not. There is also almost complete absence of the possessive nuestro, -a, -os, -as, which is replaced by de nosotros.

The phonology perhaps shows more variance than the morphology and syntax from one level of discourse to the other. In all three levels of discourse one can find the phoneme /r̄/ being produced as a fricative sibilant [r̆] by some and as a trill [r̄] by others. The phoneme /x/ is frequently weakened into an aspiration [h] very much like the English /h/. This is true of the whole Southwest.

As stated, except for these minor adjustments, the formal level of discourse would be well represented by the academic standard. The normal level vacillates and the colloquial permits certain simplifications of phonological sequences: Four-consonant clusters are reduced to three (transcripción > trascripción); three-consonant clusters are reduced to two (transportar > trasportar, transbordar > trasbordar); two-consonant clusters are reduced to one consonant (lección > [lesjón, leɨsjón, lisjón], septiembre > setiembre, también > tamién). Even the Spanish Academy has recognized some of these reductions by including them in their dictionary. On the colloquial level this simplification is more the rule than the exception.

The single voiced intervocalic consonants /b d g y/ are fricatives on the formal discourse level with some weakening on the normal discourse level, but on the colloquial level in addition to the weakening, /d/ and sometimes /g/ and /y/ tend to disappear completely. Thus we can posit these possible occurrences:

formal	normal	colloquial
[nádа]	[nádа]	[ná^{d}a ~ náa]
[akoṣtádo]	[akoṣtá^{d}o]	[akoṣtáo]
[elàdoderéĉo]	[elà^{d}o^{d}eréĉo]	[elàoeréĉo]
[lealtád]	[lealtá^{d}]	[ljalṭá]
[ágwa]	[aw̆a]	[áwa]
[síya]	[sí^{y}a]	[sĭa]
[amaríyo]	[amarí^{y}o]	[amarío]

In the morphology one finds some lack of contrast in the first person plural of the -er and -ir verbs (e.g., decimos > dicemos, vivimos > vivemos), on both the normal and colloquial levels of discourse.

With syntax, there is definite preference for the paraphrastic ir a plus infinitive (vamos a comer) in place of the future (comeremos) on both normal and colloquial levels of discourse. The form de nosotros has displaced nuestro on all levels of discourse.

All these variances are to be found elsewhere in the Hispanic World and are therefore not unique to Texas. Like any soup, it is the proportion of each ingredient that gives it its peculiar flavor. This peculiar flavor, however, can be sensed, felt, and even observed, but not easily defined.

Vocabulary plays an important part in the make-up of each variety of Spanish, but it will be dealt with in a later chapter. An effort will also be made to throw some light on intonation, which may well be the main distinguishing feature of all these varieties of Spanish, yet the one next to impossible to define.

2.1.2. New Mexican and Southern Coloradan Spanish

The Spanish of New Mexico and Southern Colorado is known for its archaic flavor. This does not mean that it is so different that it is incomprehensible to the other varieties. In fact, every single peculiarity attributable to New Mexico and Southern Colorado is found some-

where in the Hispanic World. What makes this dialectal variety unique is the concentration of so many linguistic peculiarities in one given area.

Isolation may have been responsible for this archaic flavoring. (However, the language may be in the process of leveling or modernization with the current emphasis on bilingual education.) The linguistic peculiarities are too many to itemize so we will concentrate on the most obvious. First, we must state that for the individuals capable of the three styles of discourse, the academic standard serves as a base, within the limitations described for Texan Spanish. All of these linguistic peculiarities are found, however, in the speech of those individuals who use the two-in-one formal-normal level of discourse or the colloquial level. Second, all the peculiarities attributed to Texan Spanish exist in the New Mexican-Southern Coloradan Spanish, some perhaps carried to an extreme, giving it an archaic flavor. Most of these linguistic forms were known in the sixteenth century. Most notorious is the simplification of many vocalic clusters, making a diphthong or single vowel the rule (e.g., maestro /maéstro/ > /máistro/ > /méstro/ or golpear /golpeár/ > /golpiár/). The simplification of consonant clusters is also the rule. The process is much the same as described above. (e.g., absoluto /absolúto/ > /ausolúto/ > /asolúto/).

Another very common phonological feature that smacks of archaism is the retention of a strongly aspirated unvoiced velar fricative /x/, which was a step in the evolution of many words that started with /f/ in Latin and now have /Ø/ in Spanish. (e.g., huir /xuíre/~ /xuyíre/, hallar /xayáre/, hervir /herbíre/, ahumar /axumáre/, etc.).

This phenomenon crossed into another phonemic area, perhaps through combined influence of this /x/ and aspiration of syllable-final /s/ becoming /-h/. In any case, one hears nosotros /noxótroh/, los otros /loxótroh/, los zapatos /loxapátoh/). (This does not mean, however, that /x/ always replaces intervocalic /s/.) Syllable final /-s/ is found in two stages: esta [ésta] and [éhta].

An assibilated [r̃] is the rule after stop consonants /pr, tr, kr, fr, br, dr, gr/ somewhat close to the English /r/ in pry, try, cry.

The /f/ has two allophones [ϕ] and [f]. There is a replacement of /-l/ by /-r/: alquilar > arquilar, alfalfa > alfarfa, colmillo > cormío.

The intervocalic -ll- /y/ becomes [ø] with greater regularity than in Texas, to the extent that it reaches ella [éa] and all verb forms that have -llear endings.

Nasalization of vowels is most common, to the extent that frequently, but not always, the nasal consonant disappears, leaving a nasal vowel.

An opposite tendency also occurs, since often unstressed vowels weaken and sometimes disappear, with the result that the contiguous consonants [β̞, m̥, l̥] acquire vocalic or syllabic quality: (ex. una bebida [unabeβ̞iða], mi mamá [m̥mãmá], con mi papá [cõmpapá] and clueca [kl̥léka or kuléka].

Other phonological peculiarities can best de described within the morphology since they are the result of analogy in most cases.

Some verbal forms reflect the state of sixteenth century Spanish. The preterite of traer is an example: (traje, trajiste, trajo, etc. > truje, trujites, trujo, etc.). In the present subjunctive, by analogy with caiga, one finds (vaya > vaiga, haya > haiga, crea > creiga, vea > veiga). In the future, by analogy with pondrá, one finds an epenthetic -d- in (traerá > traidrá, caerá > caidrá, querrá > quedrá). The imperfect indicative presents some old forms such as veía > vía, reía > ría, and the preterite gives: vi > vide, vites, vido, not uncommon in Mexico.

The historical process of simplification of thematic vowels in verb conjugations continued in New Mexico more than elsewhere. Latin had four different verb conjugations which were reduced to three in Standard Spanish: -ar, -er, -ir. New Mexican Spanish has practically

reduced them to two: -ar, and a decided preference for -ir. Some of the analogical formations, however, present some vacillation. Caer > cáir and creer > crer both follow the -ir conjugation except in the imperfect indicative tense where they borrow from the -ar conjugation: (caiba, caibas, caiba, cáibanos, caiban; creiba, creibas, creiba, créibanos, creiban). In addition, the infinitive endings retain the final vowel /e/, a remnant of the Latin form which persisted through the sixteenth century in Spain: hablare, comere, etc.

The verb endings with pronominal function are the same as for academic standard with the usual absence of {-is} of the second person plural. However, this set of morphemes is characterized by the regularization of the second person singular {-s} of the preterite form: fuiste > juites; and the change in position or reduplication of the third person plural {-n} of the imperative, thus denme > demen or denmen, díganme > digamen or diganmen. For the first person plural, two allomorphs exist: -mos occurs in every tense except the two imperfects and the present subjunctive, where by analogy with the object pronoun {nos} when it follows a verb form, one finds -nos as a verb ending caíamos > cáibanos, cayeramos > cayéranos, caigamos > cáiganos. In these cases, the stress on the antepenult is followed by -nos and the stress on the penult is followed by -mos.

One more factor that gives New Mexican Spanish an archaic flavor is its basic vocabulary. Many words appear as seen in the sixteenth century. Some show diphthongs long since simplified in standard Spanish. A few examples follow taken from Espinosa (BDH, I, p. 49):

> agora, ansi, ansina, naidien, traidrá, lamber, ivierno, trujo, escrebir, adrede, cuasi, entención, comigo, pus, anque, dende, mesmo, quese (que es de), escuro, dijieron, vide, vía, (veía), etc.

Let us repeat again that all these linguistic changes also occur elsewhere in the Hispanic World, but nowhere else are they all concentrated in one linguistic area. This unique concentration, nevertheless,

does not make this dialect of Spanish incomprehensible to speakers of the other varieties in question.

2.1.3. Arizonan Spanish

The Spanish of Arizona has many points in common with New Mexican Spanish, but leans more heavily toward a Mexican variety of the northern type due to the proximity of the State of Sonora in Mexico. In part this similarity to north Mexico Spanish may be due to the migration from Mexico that took place during the latter half of the first decade and the second decade of this century.

The concentration of archaic features in New Mexico is greatly reduced in Arizona. In general, Arizonan Spanish does not regularly share such phonological features as the unvoiced velar fricative /x/ in place of /ɸ/ (huir [uír]), and the replacement of /-l/ by /-r/ (colmillo [kolmíyo ~ kolmío]); the assibilated /ř/ is rare after stops; syllable final [-s] is hardly ever aspirated; vowels are seldom nasalized to any great extent, and the vocalization of consonants such as [ɲ ɱ ʎ] is a rarity.

Many of the verbal archaisms are to be found side by side with the standard forms; however, the analogical form caiba, creiba, etc., is rarely heard. Like Texan Spanish, it still retains three verbal conjugation endings to a certain extent, but confusion does exist as in decimos ~ dicemos. In all these dialects of Spanish, the tú verb form is more frequently used than the usted form and is gaining greater use with the younger generation.

Added to all this, one finds two features that flavor all these varieties of Spanish, borrowed words and phrases from English, and intonation. We will discuss these features at more length when we devote a section to intonation to conclude these descriptions.

2.1.4. Californian Spanish

Californian Spanish may be described as an extension of Arizonan Spanish, greatly influenced by or loaded with borrowed words and phrases

from English, and perhaps a greater variety of intonation patterns.

The "Pachuco" jargon of the late 30's and early 40's left an imprint. Language change and acceptance seems to be on the upsurge under a different but dignified guise: bilingualism.

2.1.5. Other United States Urban Area Mexican Spanish

The Mexican variety of Spanish in all the other urban areas of the United States contains most of the linguistic peculiarities thus far described. It is never as extreme as New Mexican Spanish and perhaps leans more toward a standard Mexican Spanish of the Central High plains. This difference we could attribute to migration cycles and patterns. The Mexican migration to the northern and eastern United States is of a recent vintage, both from Mexico and from the Southwest, due to the mobility within the United States since 1940. The Mexican colony of Detroit, for example, came principally from the northern and central states of Mexico. while many of the Mexican-Americans came from Texas (Tsuzaki, p. 28).

2.2. Puerto Rican Spanish

Puerto Rican Spanish shares many of the peculiarities of New Mexican Spanish cited above, making some features the norm rather than a variant of the norm. It differs greatly in that it does not have the archaic flavor due to the concentration of archaic features in New Mexican Spanish.

The vowel system of Puerto Rican Spanish gives the impression of being more open than that of standard Spanish. The fact is that the vowels in checked syllables are more open, and markedly so, in syllables left unchecked by the aspiration or disappearance of syllable-final /-s/: bosque [bɔ́hke], tres [tréh], vas [báh], etc. On the other hand, one does hear closer vowels in final position before a pause, especially on the colloquial level: este [ésti], Pepe [pépi], abuelo [aβwélu], martillo [martíyu].

On the colloquial level, there is also the tendency to reduce

almost to zero [Ø] some pretonic vowels: capital [cap^{i}tál] ~ [captál]. As in New Mexican Spanish, reduction to diphthongs of vowel clusters is more the rule than the exception: golpear [agolpjál], when the higher vowel is first; not so when the higher vowel is second: cae [káe], trae [tráe], etc.

The consonantal system presents some new changes together with the old; these are mostly changes in articulation, which do not alter the Spanish phonemic system. Almost all of these phonetic changes have infiltrated all three levels of discourse: /b d/, fricatives in intervocalic position, frequently become zero [Ø]: clavo [kláo], todo [tóo]. /d/ also becomes [Ø] regularly in word-final position: usted [uhté], verdad [berdá]. In addition, /d/ after /n l/ is assimilated by these consonants: grande [gránne], espalda [ehpálla]. There is confusion between final /-r/ and /-l/: puerta [pwélta], barba [bálba], and salto [sárto], falda [fárda]. Perhaps this confusion gains ground because the sound articulated is not always really an [l] or an [r], but rather something in between: [^{r}l]. This process of change is carried to an extreme by the assimilation of the /d/ cited above: tarde [tálde] > [tálle], or por día [poldía] > [pollía].

The h in words like huir, hincar, humo, etc. is most frequently aspirated [huír, hiŋkár, húmo], although /Ø/ is quite normal in formal discourse [uír, iŋkár, úmo].

Variations, including complete absence, of syllable-final /-s/ is a distinctive characteristic of all the Caribbean area and is perhaps more pronounced in the two areas that concern us here. This phenomenon has permeated all levels of discourse, and only on solemn occasions (speeches, academia) or in the theatre is the /-s/ clearly pronounced. One actually finds several allophonic variations ranging from a clear [-s] to zero [Ø], leaving the preceding vowel more open than usual. One could posit this scale of allophones: cresta [krésta, krés^{s}ta, krés^{h}ta, krétta, kréta]. Before voiced consonants the variant would be voiced before disappearing: mismo [mízmo, mí^{z}mo, míñmo, mí^{ñ}mo, mímmo, mímo]. The /-s/ very frequently is assimilated by the following

consonant, particularly so before /p t k/. With the complete loss of syllable-final /-s/ in medial position, the consonant cluster number is reduced considerably, leaving no four-consonant clusters; all the three-consonant clusters would be reduced to those excluding the /s/, leaving a total of thirty-two:

/ptr bpr bkl kbl ktr mpl mpr mbl mbr ntl
ntr ndr nkt nkm nkl nkr ngl ngr mfl mfr lpl
lbr ltr ldr lkl lkr lgr rpr rtr rkl rkr rfl/.

Two-consonant clusters having /s/ as the first element would be reduced by twenty-six clusters, thus leaving 105 out of 131 two-consonant clusters (see infra).

Though the single flapped /r/ is standard throughout the Spanish speaking world, its generically related phoneme /r̄/ presents three different articulations in Puerto Rican Spanish with the so-called standard multiple trill [r̄] being the least heard. The articulation most frequently used is the velar [R], very much the same as the French or German [R]. This articulation is also found in several other Caribbean areas. The assibilated [r̆] is also heard, though with less frequency. It is interesting to note that the assibilation occurs in Puerto Rican Spanish with the phoneme /r̄/, while in New Mexican Spanish it occurs only with the phoneme /r/ and only preceded by a stop. It must also be made clear that not all three articulations or any two are used by one speaker. Each speaker chooses or uses one only.

Another allophonic variant of a phoneme that is used by all speakers throughout the Caribbean area is the velar [ŋ]. In standard Spanish this allophone normally occurs before a velar phoneme, that is /k g x/ tanque, sangre, sanja, but in Puerto Rican Spanish it is automatic in word final: son [sóŋ], ten [téŋ], van [báŋ]. This articulation is common to all three levels of discourse.

In the colloquial level of discourse, it is quite common to drop not only some unstressed vowels, but in some cases a complete syllable: Estoy bien > 'toy bien. Está en casa > 'ta'n casa.

In the morphology, Puerto Rican Spanish is quite consistent with most Spanish dialects. It regularizes the second person singular of the preterite verb by changing comiste into [komítes] ~ [komítEh] ~ [komítE]. Again the function of the pronominal ending of the verbs is so strong that -nos alternates with the standard form -mos in the two imperfects: queríamos ~ queríanos, quisiéramos ~ quisiéranos, and the present subjunctive: digamos ~ díganos, pongamos ~ pónganos; we note again that -nos appears when there is a change of stress to the antepenult by analogy, and -mos when the stress remains in the penult. It should be noted, however, that in Puerto Rican Spanish one form is not used to the exclusion of the other as is the case in New Mexican Spanish. The third person signal {-n} also prevails in the imperatives, moving its place as in denle > delen.

One verbal form, an unusual formation, perhaps through analogy, is often heard in Puerto Rican colloquial Spanish. Hacer in the future often gives hadré, hadrás, hadrá, etc. This epenthetic /d/ is parallel to the dialectal pattern in the verb querer which gives quedré, instead of querré.

One final item yet to be clarified is the result or effects of syllable-final /-s/ or lack of it. We stated at the beginning that the phonetic changes undergone by Puerto Rican Spanish did not alter the Spanish phonemic system. When we think in terms of the morphology, however, the system has been slightly modified. If the syllable-final /-s/ presents several variants and in word-final position it is prone to become zero [Ø], what becomes of the morphemic marker for plurality? When this phoneme has reached zero in this position, there has to remain some sort of marker to maintain the difference between singular and plural. For example, how can one distinguish between "Vió a la hermana." and "Vió a las hermanas."? If we recall that the aspiration and disappearance of /-s/ affects the preceding vowel by making it markedly more open, we can posit that vowel timbre (quality) has morphemic value. Thus a closed or medial {-a} is the singular marker, and an open {-A} is the plural marker: [bjòalaɐ̯rmána] vs. [bjòalAɐ̯rmánA].

2.3. Cuban Spanish

Cuban Spanish shares many features with Puerto Rican Spanish. They are, nevertheless, easily distinguished one from the other. Though they share features we will present, these features differ in degree, be it quantitatively or qualitatively.

In general the five vocalic phonemes of Cuban Spanish seem to be more open than those of standard Spanish or the other varieties of Spanish being discussed. One could posit that instead of the usual / i e a o u / this system has / I E A ɔ U/.

In the course of speech these vowels undergo the usual changes known to all Spanish dialects. Some of the more obvious follow: unstressed vowels in all positions and especially in word-final position are reduced. In word-final position where it is rare that /E/ > /I/, /O/ > /U/ with great frequency: in coloquial discourse eso [ÊSU], pedazos [pEÁsU^{s}], fósforo [fɔ́^{s}fUrU]. In normal discourse, one is bound to find the obscuring of the unstressed vowel as in bueno [bwén^{ɔ}], rojo [r̃ɔh^{ɔ}]. The vowel /A/ is obscured in word-final position in both normal and colloquial discourse; fruta [frʊ̃t^{A}], blanca [blÁŋk^{A}].

In other positions /E/ is either weakened or lost completely: caperucita [kAp^{E}rUsítA], eso es [sɔÉ^{h}], but eso [^{E}sɔ] which should be a stressed /E/. /ɔ/ in normal or colloquial discourse tends to combine with contiguous vowels to form diphthongs: lo espera [lwÉ^{s}pErA], hecho así [Ècwasí]. The vowel /A/ is also weakened as in plátano [plÁt^{A}n^{ɔ}], cáscara [kA^{s}k^{A}rA]; it disappears between words as in era un niño [ErU nítñ^{ɔ}]. Likewise, the /I/ is weakened as in típico [típ^{I}k^{ɔ}]. With the aspiration or complete loss of syllable-final /s/ one would expect the preceding vowel to undergo the same changes as in Puerto Rican Spanish. However, such is not the case. According to reports, the vowels are not further opened but a slight lengthening of the remaining vowel is noticed (Olmstead, 2.3.3).

Cubans in the academic world function on three levels of discourse.

It has been noticed that on the formal level these speakers avoid all these phonetic modifications, but their register still shows the different vocalic quality that corresponds to /I E A ↄ U/.

The phoneme /k/ frequently becomes a fricative [ɣ] in intervocalic position within a word or across word boundaries: recorrió [r̄Eɣ r̄jↄ́], Bacardí [bAɣArđí], la casa [lAɣ́AsA], la caña [lAɣ́AñA]. /k/ plus [w] is reduced to [w] as in cuando [wÁnↄ].

Although the voiced phonemes /b d g/ are known to normally undergo change from stops to zero under given circumstances, these three phonemes undergo changes or occur as zero with greater frequency in Cuban Spanish and in positions not common to other dialects. /b/ occurs as a fricative [β́] intervocalically, but more frequently as a fricative [w] as in la boca [lAẃkA], Cuba [kŰwA], casaba [kAsÁwA]; it is vocalized before an /r/ as in pobre [pↄ́ÛrE], and becomes zero in el lodo [Erlↄ́ↄ], estaba [E^{t}tÁA]. The phoneme /d/, in addition to occuring as voiced stop allophone [d] (uno o dos [Ůnↄdↄ́^{h}]) and the fricative allophone [đ́], ([Ůnↄ đↄ́^{h}]) also becomes zero in the participial and adjectival forms: -ado, -ada, -ido, -ida. It also becomes zero after a nasal: cuando [wÁnↄ] where in standard Spanish it is a stop. /d/ regularly becomes zero in word final position: verdad [bErđ́A]. It seems that most of the allophones for /b d g/ are in free variation in Cuban Spanish which is not the case for the other varieties nor for the so-called standard.

These articulations seem to be performed with a certain amount of laxness; that is, if we consider that the consonants normally are tense in comparison with the laxness of the vowels. This tendency to replace stops with fricatives and fricatives with /Ø/ gives Cuban Spanish a flavor all its own. We have already seen the predominance of the shift from [β́] to [w] and [Ø], as well as [đ́] to [Ø]. A shift also seems to be operating that might reduce the number of the unvoiced stops. /k/ now gives occurrences of [ɣ́]; /ĉ/is still found, but the shift to /s̆/ is vying for the phonemic spot.

The phoneme /x/ is regularly produced as an [h].

/n/ in word-final position is a velar [ŋ] as in Puerto Rican Spanish, however, here it has gone a step farther, and any morpheme that smacks of a prefix also uses the [ŋ]: innovación [IŋnɔβAsjɔ́ŋ].

The /r/ in final position vacillates among the normal flapped [r], the fricative [ɻ], an aspiration [h], and assimilation or zero [Ø]. One finds <u>forma</u> [fɔ́rmA], [fɔ́ʳmA], [fɔ́mA]; <u>carne</u> [kÁʰnE], <u>por que</u> [pɔKKÉ], [pɔKÉ]. The confusion between [-l] and [-r] is not as great as in Puerto Rican Spanish, but the articulation does seem to be a composite of the two [ʳl], <u>parte</u> [pÁʳ$_l$tE], <u>salto</u> [sÁʳ$_l$tɔ].

The last phonetic change or peculiarity to be discussed here is the syllable-final /-s/. It follows much the same development as the Puerto Rican Spanish and we can say that the following articulations exist: 1) a reduced <u>s</u>, <u>castilla</u> [kAˢtʃyA]; 2) aspiration, <u>mezcla</u> [mÉʰklA]; 3) reduced aspiration, <u>dos meses</u> [dɔ́ʰmÉsEʰ]; 4) assimilation, <u>espera</u> [EᵖpÉrA], <u>cáscara</u> [kAᵏkÁrA]; 5) zero, <u>esta</u> [É:tA ~ ÉtA]; and /s/ plus /d/ > [ǵ]: <u>granjas del pueblo</u> [grÀŋhAǵElpwÉβlɔ] (Isbăşescu, 3.6.1). This reduction of /-s/ to zero of course helps reduce the consonant clusters considerably in the same percentages as in Puerto Rican Spanish.

The morphology and syntax of Cuban Spanish follow closely the morphology and syntax of the Hispanic world. On the syntactic level, however, there is a peculiarity for which it is well known. In Standard Spanish, questions with interrogative words begin the utterance with the interrogative word: <u>¿Qué quieres</u>? <u>¿Qué tienes</u>?, etc. If the subject pronoun or noun is used for whatever reason, it either begins the question <u>¿Tú qué quieres</u>? <u>¿Tú qué tienes</u>?, or is placed after the verb, <u>¿Qué quieres tú</u>? <u>¿Qué tienes tú</u>?, but it is normal for Cuban Spanish to interpolate the subject pronoun between the interrogative word and the verb: <u>¿Qué tú quieres</u>? <u>¿Qué tú tienes</u>?

With the loss of syllable final /s/, the question of the number marker seeks another solution different from Puerto Rican Spanish.

Usually the aspirated allophone /h/ appears in the article or determiner preceding the noun: mi padre [mI pÁdrE] vs mis padres [mIh pÁdrE]; la amiga [lA:mÍgA] vs las amigas [lAhAmÍgA] and el amigo [ElAmÍgU] vs los amigos [lɔhAmÍgɔ].

It should also be noted that the use of tú and corresponding verb forms is the norm in normal and colloquial discourse, in contrast to the use of usted in formal discourse.

2.4. Peninsular Spanish

Peninsular Spanish is aptly described in the academic standard section above (1.0) with all the possible changes expected in daily conversation. Many peculiarities known to other varieties are also known to some Peninsular Spanish speakers. It should also be understood that in recent years the majority of the immigrants from Spain have been from the well-educated classes; thus a large percent are able to operate on all three levels of discourse. This does not mean that there is no one that knowns only two levels of discourse or possibly only one.

Certain linguistic facts stand out with this variety of Spanish. It has the five vowel phonemes described. It has seventeen to twenty consonant phonemes depending from which part of Spain the individuals come. The two main phonemes in question are /θλ/ and the possible appearance of /v/. Immigrants, highly educated or not, from the north, primarily north central, region of Spain would generally have nineteen consonant phonemes; those form the mid-central region including Madrid would most likely have eighteen phonemes although some might have nineteen, i.e., the /λ / has lost a lot of ground and is readily replaced by /y/. Those coming from the southern part of Spain, commonly called Andalusia, would most likely have only seventeen consonant phonemes, having lost the /λ / and oftentimes confusing the /θ/ with the /s/ or reducing both to the /s/. If the immigrant comes from Catalonia or Valencia, it is very possible he has twenty consonant phonemes includ-

ing the phoneme /v/ in contrast with /b/, since he makes this distinction in his own language (Catalan).

It is worthy of notice that the individuals from Catalonia and Valencia have less difficulty in learning and producing many English sounds, due to similarities in articulation and position in Catalan but not in Spanish. The most outstanding example is the fact that a great many of the words in their language end in any consonant as in English. The velar or dark [l_x] in final position is also common to both.

It has been said that Spanish-American varieties of Spanish closely resemble Andalusian Spanish. This is true phonologically, morphologically and syntactically speaking. Within the phonological level, however, there is a divergence which we will discuss under intonation (3.0).

Aside from the fact that Andalusian Spanish also does not have the phonemes /θλ/ or confuses /θ/ with /s/, there is one phenomenon common to it and the varieties of Puerto Rican, Cuban and New Mexican Spanish; i.e., the multiple changes that syllable final /-s/ undergoes as described in 2.1.2, 2.2, 2.3. This variety also has the confusion between syllable final /-r/ and /-l/.

On the morphological level all Peninsular Spanish speakers have six persons, i.e., two sets of three persons, in their discourse; consequently, the second person plural of all verbal forms (<u>hablasteis</u>, <u>comisteis</u>, <u>hablad</u>, <u>comed</u>, etc.) and its corresponding pronouns and adjectives have full usage: <u>vosotros</u>, <u>vosotras</u>, <u>os</u>, <u>vuestro</u>, <u>vuestra</u>, <u>vuestros</u>, <u>vuestras</u>.

3.0. Intonation

Intonation together with vocabulary may mark the most telling differences between any two varieties of Spanish. The matter of vocabulary will be discussed at length in the chapter with that name. The discussion of intonation was delayed till now in order to make some comparisons more meaningful. This aspect of phonology is the most difficult to describe adequately, yet it is the first difference noticed even among speakers of the same language. We do not profess to give an adequate description of the four varieties of Spanish in question, but it is hoped some of observations brought to bear will give a clearer picture of the differences.

In (1.0) we stated that by intonation we understand not only the linear phonetic production of consonants and vowels within an utterance, but also pitch (3.1), terminal juncture (3.2), stress (3.3), and rhythm (3.4). If any one of these four elements varies, it produces a different image of spoken language and makes the intonation appear different from any other.

3.1. Pitch

It is generally accepted that three pitch levels are adequate for a description of any Spanish dialect. It has also been shown that Spanish most frequently stays within levels /1/ and /2/ in normal conversation and utilizes level /3/ for emphasis, contrast and questions. The pitch patterns given (1.0) could well represent the patterns of Peninsular Spanish:

/211↓/ declarative statement.

/231↓/ emphatic declarative statement or contrast.

/233↑/ question without an interrogative word; yes or no answer expected.

/311↓/ ~ /311↑/ question with an interrogative word.

/231|/ ~ /231→/ relative question which asks confirmation.

/222↓/ ~ /222↑/ ~ /222|/ ~ /222→/ breath group that is not conclusive; it announces there is more to come to complete the utterance. (These patterns could well be considered allomorphs of /211↓/ and /233↑/.

Though the pattern /211↓/ may be found in the speech of the other three varieties of Spanish, especially in formal discourse, it seems that for the declarative statement the pattern /222↓/ is more common. Likewise, /233↑/ may be found, but one hears /222↑/ more frequently for questions without an interrogative word. /231↓/ may be heard for emphatic declarative statements or contrast, but it is most frequently /232|/ or /232→/. /311↓/ ~ /311↑/ may be heard for questions with an interrogative word, but they occur most frequently as /211↓/ ~ /211↑/; /222↑/ may also be heard. Finally, /222|/ ~ /222→/ may be considered allomorphs of /222↓/ or /222↑/ since they are used to define breath groups which merely announce that the utterance is not complete and more is expected.

Another factor to be kept in mind is that the pitch level fluctuates with some consistency, rising to level /2/ (or /3/) on stressed syllables and falling to level /1/ on unstressed syllables. This is what at times gives the language a sing-song quality such as that attributed to the Mexican Spanish variety.

It would seem, with these generalities, that the pitch patterns are very much alike for Puerto Rican, Cuban and Mexican Spanish. One feature of Cuban Spanish must be mentioned, even though it is not easily defined. In formal discourse, the varieties are definitely very much alike as to pitch levels, but frequently in normal discourse and almost regularly in colloquial discourse, the vocal quality of the Cuban speakers seem to change register although still keeping the same pitch patterns. It is as if the speaker has superimposed pharyngealization on his whole discourse.

3.2. Terminal Junctures

Three terminal junctures suffice to describe all varieties of Spanish. Any deviations can be considered allophones. We have indicated /↓/ as terminal fall; /↑/ terminal rise; and /|/ or /→/ as suspension or continuation. We have seen examples of their use in describing pitch (2.1). From so simple a statement, one might believe that in this regard all four varieties of Spanish are alike, but such is not the case. In reality, each one of these terminal junctures is differently produced in each variety, although there are similarities, especially in formal discourse. Explanations follow:

/↓/ Terminal fall: 1) For the Peninsular variety it implies a gradual cessation of phonation as the pitch starts falling from the last stressed syllable past the level indicated.
2) For Mexican Spanish the articulation is the same as for Peninsular Spanish except that the fall barely reaches level /1/. Within this variety the New Mexican dialect differs in that on reaching the low level it continues there as the voice gradually dies.
3) and 4) For Puerto Rican and Cuban Spanish varieties, the cessation of phonation is abrupt and the pitch drop is very short.

/↑/ Terminal rise: 1) For the Peninsular variety it implies a gradual cessation of phonation as the pitch starts rising from the last stressed syllable past the level indicated.
2) For the Mexican Spanish variety, the articulation is the same as for the Peninsular variety, except that the rise barely reaches level /3/. Again, in New Mexican Spanish, once the top level has been reached the voice continues there and gradually dies.
3) and 4) For Puerto Rican and Cuban Spanish varieties the cessation of phonation is abrupt and the pitch rise is very short.

/|/ or /→/ Suspension or continuation: 1), 2), 3),and 4) for all varieties this implies that the phonation ceases abruptly at the pitch level reached on the last stressed syllable.

3.3. Stress

In speaking of stress one must distinguish between word stress and utterance or breath-group stress. For our purpose, there is a primary stress /ˊ/ in each breath group and as many secondary stresses /ˋ/ as there are words (content words) which normally have a strong stress. No unstressed syllables need be marked.

The primary stress coincides with the last stressed syllable of the breath group unless there is a level /3/ pitch, in which case these coincide.

2 1 1 1 2 3 1 22
/krèoke λegaránèstatárde|// /estàustèdseguro|// /si|//

These observations on stress readily apply to all varieties of Spanish. If any difference in stress occurs it occurs on the word level. We have already meantioned a few examples such as /maéstro/ vs. /máistro/, /pongámos/ vs. /pónganos/, etc. We maintain that the utterance stresses are the same for all varieties of Spanish yet they seem to appear at shorter intervals in some dialects than in others. The answer can best be found in the realm of rhythm.

3.4. Rhythm: Syllabic and Stress

Many people claim that Spanish has syllabic-timed rhythm in comparison with English which definitely has stress-timed rhythm. We would like to think that Spanish has a combination of both syllabic-and stress-timed rhythm. However, since syllable count is the more easily discernible, we will concentrate on this to compare the rhythm of the four varieties of Spanish in question.

It is possible that the rapidity with which one speaks depends on the many phonological changes the language undergoes from variety to variety, particularly so when the discourse is on the normal or colloquial level. If we take, for example, the question ¿Está usted seguro?,

we can give precise phonetic transcription for each of the four varieties of Spanish and compare the results.

1) Peninsular Spanish [e^{1}s^{2}tà^{2}s^{3}tè^{1}se^{1}gúro^{1}|]

2) Mexican Spanish [^{e}e^{1}s^{2}tà^{2}s^{2}tè^{2}se^{2}gúro^{2}|]

3) Puerto Rican Spanish [^{Eh}E^{1}h^{2}tà^{h}h^{2}tès^{e}e^{2}gúro^{2}|]

4) Cuban Spanish [^{2}tÀ^{2}tÉs^{E}E^{2}gŬr^{Ɔ}Ɔ^{2}|] ~ [^{2}tÀ^{2}tEsEŬr^{Ɔ}Ɔ^{2}|]

These transcriptions are invented but very close to reality. If the transcriptions are read out loud, the following points can be observed: The first two utterances, though fast, give the impression that the words run smoothly one into the other as if the whole utterance were one word. The third utterance sounds a little faster with the loss of a consonant /d/ and the weakened vowels /e/ in unstressed position, as well as the weakened aspirations [h] in place of /s/. The alternate results of the fourth utterance sound much faster, even staccato, with the secondary stresses coming very close together due to the loss of unstressed syllables /es-/ and /us-/ and the weakening of the unstressed vowel /e/ in one case and the loss of intervocalic /g/ in the other.

Thus we see that any difference or modification in any one of these four factors (pitch, terminal juncture, stress, or rhythm) produces a dialectal intonational pattern that gives each Spanish variety its own identity.

4.0. Vocabulary

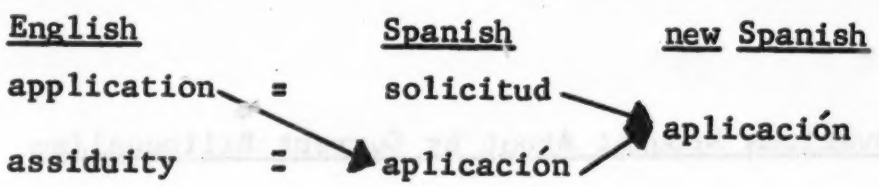
The basic vocabulary for all four varieties of Spanish is fundamentally the same. Aside from the basic vocabulary, borrowed lexical items must be examined on two different levels: 1) different vocabulary of long standing brought by the first immigrants to the United States, and 2) recent innovations as a result of current bilingualism.

There are linguistic word borrowings of three main types (Hockett, 48.2, .3, .4):

1) A loanword is a word borrowed from the donor language together with the object or practice it represents. At the same time the word undergoes the necessary phonetic changes to conform with the borrower's phonemic system. Examples, Aztec zopilotl > Spanish zopilote; Christmas > crismes.

2) A loanblend is a word resulting:
   a) from a loanword, retaining all or part of it and modifying it by adding some morphemes already in the borrower's language: boxing > boxeo, boxeador, or
   b) from the replacement of a native word by a foreign word treated like a loanword plus modification: watch him > wáchalo.

3) A loanshift occurs when a new or known object or practice is accepted, but not the word. Instead,
   a) a word from the borrower's language is used, thus causing a semantic change:



   b) translation is used:

English		Spanish	new Spanish
to have a good time	=	divertirse	tener buen tiempo

4.1. Lexical Items of Long Standing

By lexical items of long standing we refer to those items that were incorporated into the Spanish language of the area from early colonial days to at least the middle of this century. Quite frequently the dominating language (superstratum) incorporates into its system words from the conquered language (substratum), or from a language which lives side by side (adstratum). It is also possible that for one reason or another each linguistic area prefers one of several words from the mother tongue for the same object or practice.

The word "crow", for example, is commonly known as cuervo to all Spanish speakers who possess three levels of discourse. Other names more frequently used by each respective variety of Spanish are: Peninsular, gallinazo, ciudadano, viuda; Mexican, zopilote (chipillote in New Mexico); and Cuban, aura tiñosa. The Peninsular names may be derived from another bird's name but with a metaphorical use, as are ciudadano and viuda. The Mexican variety borrows the Aztec name and converts it into the Spanish phonology. The Cuban variety uses another word for "bird" plus an adjective meaning tinted.

Another source of lexical difference of long standing which might flavor both the Puerto Rican and Cuban varieties of Spanish is the negroid influence. Music, folklore and literature have popularized many words of negroid origin.

4.2. Innovations Brought About by Current Bilingualism

The list of lexical borrowings is so great that little would be gained by listing all the words here. (We refer you to Phillips 1967,

Tsuzaki 1963 and Kreidel 1958).

Statistics show that nouns make up the greatest percentage of lexical borrowing, followed by verbs, next a few adjectives, fewer adverbs and rarely function words. It also seems that the number of lexical borrowings occur in this order of classification: loanwords first, loanshifts second, and loanblends third.

One could venture to say that there is great uniformity in the results of lexical borrowing in all four Spanish varieties in question. There is, however, an additional factor of importation known as switching or code switching which affects Californian Spanish and Puerto Rican Spanish the most. This may be the case due to the longer contact between these two varieties of Spanish and American English.

Switching is the constant alternating in discourse between two languages, perhaps unconsciously; there is never need for translation. It is not considered a borrowing because each language is spoken with its proper phonology (proper in so far as the speaker has mastered the phonology). At times one cannot tell which was the initiating language of the discussion. Switching is also not limited to the individual word (borrowing), but quite regularly involves syntactic groups. One cannot predict when the switch will occur.

As stated before, Californian Spanish seems to be the most advanced in this regard, with Puerto Rican Spanish following a close second. Here are a couple of examples cited, one from Los Angeles Mexican Spanish and the other from Puerto Rican Spanish of New Jersey:

"In the first semester que se abrió la escuela."
Tiene miedo, but we went en eso de turismo.
Remember when I told you que quería, no pues, no,
you see.
No, just para myself. (Phillips 4.2.6)

AM: Esa gente de color, they're not allowed to shoot at white people, you know.

AS: Tú sabes el trouble they're making. Yo creo que le tiraron este, un tiro a un nene y le explotaron un ojo.

AM: O que lo mataron.

AS: Porque lo dijeron allá, este, there where I work, un manager lo dijo.

CP: .....El dijo que they're looking for trouble... Que son todos jovencitos, they're young. (Fishman 1968, p. 655).

This particular phase of bilingualism should be of great concern and study since it may well color or change the course of Spanish dialects in the United States.

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